

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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THREE important subjects have engaged the attention of the Anti-Slavery Society since our last issue. These are the proposed Emancipation of Enslaved Africans in Cuba; the attempt to introduce Chinese coolies into Brazil; and the disturbed condition of Abyssinia.

With regard to the Cuban question, we need do little more than refer our readers to the copies of a Memorial addressed to Lord Salisbury, and his Lordship's answer to the same. Knowing how important it was to strengthen the hands of the Anti-Slavery party in Spain, this Society procured a translation of the Memorial into Spanish, and sent many hundred copies to various influential persons in Madrid, with a view to having them distributed in suitable quarters.

How well these documents have been received, and how actively the friends of Abolition are working in Spain may be seen from the following extracts of a letter just received from a gentleman in position in Madrid:—

“Madrid, November 23rd, 1879.

“The Government is passing through a very dangerous crisis. Martinez Campos seems to be faithful to his plan of *immediate emancipation* (as he calls it

—though it is not true); and Canovas del Castillo, Romero Robledo, and all the members of the Cabinet, except one, are against him, and wish a mystification in the law. Martinez Campos is alone. The whole Liberal nation is with him, but the Executive and both Chambers are against him; he must yield and leave his place, or he must dissolve both Chambers, and bring a majority faithful to his principles, having a new election. This is the actual state of public affairs.

“I enclose you copy of a notice we have inserted in a Madrid paper:—

“‘The SPANISH ABOLITIONIST SOCIETY is preparing to hold a grand meeting next week. Besides this its most prominent orators will hold several Conferences in the several Literary and Mercantile Associations of Madrid. Two extraordinary Conferences are already announced in the Mercantile Association.’”

How difficult it is for anyone to form any correct opinion as to the probable issue of the great conflict now pending in the Spanish Chamber, between freedom and liberalism on the one hand, and slavery and

conservatism on the other, may be seen on reading the contradictory telegrams which are printed from day to day in the London press. We sincerely trust that, under the over-ruling hand of a Divine Providence the cause of right will speedily triumph, and the fetters be struck for ever from off the limbs of the oppressed slave.

Until Spain cuts away the corroding canker which is eating into the heart of the nation she cannot rise to the position which she ought to take amongst the civilised countries of the world. Insurrection and discord are again rampant in the unhappy colony which once formed her brightest possession; nor will they cease so long as the curse of slavery is suffered to cast its blight upon the land.

Both of individuals and of nations it is still true, as it was in the days of Hosea—that when “they have sown the wind they shall reap the whirlwind—it hath no stalk, the bud shall yield no meal.”

Slavery is a cursed thing—it was planted in the fair regions of the earth, amid the “winds” and storms of the fierce passions and cruel lust for gold which raged in the heart of man, and it will expire in a “whirlwind” that may destroy the Spanish rule in Cuba altogether, unless the people can succeed in compelling their rulers to put away from them, at once and for ever, this foul blot upon their humanity and good name.

Of the second subject—viz.: *Chinese immigration to Brazil*, we need say nothing, except to refer to the correspondence upon this question between the Society and the Chinese Ambassador. The answer of His Excellency is, we trust, a complete blow to the pro-slavery party in Brazil, who, it will be seen, from the quotations we insert from their Parliamentary report, are the persons who wish to introduce what may be termed a system of *Yellow Slavery*, to follow the régime of *Black Slavery*.

Of the dispute between Egypt and Abyssinia we had hoped to chronicle the conclusion, but the latest accounts serve to show that there appear to be fresh complications from day to day. The last thing we hear is that “Colonel Gordon, the Governor-General of the Soudan, had left the King of Abyssinia without having effected a final arrangement of the relations between Egypt and that country; but when he reached Gola he was recalled by King John.”

We trust that he may have been recalled to some purpose, and that satisfactory terms may still be made. Meanwhile a British gunboat has appeared on the scene, as is usual when there are signs that the war-spirit is abroad; but we fear that it is not in the interest of either Abyssinia, or of the kidnapped slave, but only in that of the ubiquitous English trader; for we can scarcely give credence to the report that the Governor-General of the Soudan is detained as a prisoner by King John. This, we sincerely trust, is only a *canard*.

“ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER” OFFICE,
9th December, 1879.

As we go to press we find our worst fears are about to be realised—the Emancipation Bill in Cuba is apparently doomed. At this moment we hear that General Campos has resigned, and that the task of forming a new Cabinet has been entrusted by the King to Senor de Posada Herrera. What the result will be none can say. We trust, however, that the voice of wisdom will be heard in the Councils of that distracted country, and we sincerely hope that at such a moment our own Government will put that pressure upon Spain which they are so fully entitled to exert in the interests of the slave. Should emancipation be long delayed we fear we shall shortly see a renewal of the terrible insurrection that has already desolated Cuba, and that this feeling is shared by the United States people is shown in the following leader taken from the *Philadelphia Press* of 17th November:—

“Another insurrection has broken out in Cuba. Whatever may be the cause of discontent among the creole mountaineers, who are said to be the leaders in the revolt, it is quite certain that the negro slaves are determined to be free. The scheme of gradual abolition now in progress is too slow to suit the bold spirits who survive the rebellions and insurrections of the last fifteen years. They have grown up amidst the alarms and terrors of war, and it is not in the nature of things that they should be contented slaves. They have before them the hope of emancipation, but it is too remote to satisfy their longings for liberty. The Spanish Government is preparing to reinforce the Cuban army, but a decree of absolute emancipation would be far more effective in suppressing the revolt than a hundred thousand soldiers. Slavery can be no longer maintained in the West Indies, and the sooner Spain adapts her policy to the sentiment of the Christian world the sooner will she have peace in Cuba.”

Of Abyssinia there is nothing reliable to report; but we have reason to believe that Colonel Gordon is not detained as a prisoner by King John.

LA ESCLAVITUD EN CUBA.

EL Comité de La Sociedad Abolicionista Britanica y Estrangera (British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society) de Londres, ha dirigido á Lord Salisbury la comunicacion siguiente:—

*27, New Broad Street,
3 de Noviembre de 1879.*

EXMO. SOR.—El Comité de la Sociedad Abolicionista Britanica y Estrangera se ve obligada una vez mas á dirigirse al Gobierno de S. M. en favor de los Africanos que aun permanecen en estado de esclavitud en Cuba, en razon á que hoy se discute extensamente este asunto en Madrid, y su solucion puede decirse, que atravesia una verdadera crisis. Esto no obstante, las medidas que se han propuesto para su solucion son injustas para los esclavizados, é incompatibles con las obligaciones de España para con la Nacion Britanica, al mismo tiempo que puede probarse que son tan perjudiciales para los intereses agricolas del pais, como lo son para los del mismo esclavo.

El Comité se atreve á recordar á V. E. algunas aunque breves palabras de las que tuvo ya el honor de dirigirle por medio de una diputacion en Febrero ultimo, en la época en que, habiendo el General Martinez Campos realizado la pacificacion de Cuba, quitó el ultimo pretesto que España podia aun presentar para dilatar la ejecucion de una medida que concediese la completa emancipacion. Entónces manifestamos á V. E. que “El General Martinez Campos se propone arreglar con el Gobierno de Madrid aquellas medidas necesarias para fijar no solamente la relaciones de Cuba con la Madre Patria, sino que tambien sus condiciones interiores y sus relaciones con el resto del globo. Al hacerse este arreglo el Gobierno Britanico tiene un derecho incuestionable de hacer oir su voz, y está en la obligacion de ejercitar los derechos que le reconocen los tratados en favor, no solo de los fueros de la humanidad, sino que tambien de los intereses de Inglaterra y de las otras naciones.

“Lavalidez de las reclamaciones de Inglaterra para libertar la poblacion esclava de Cuba jamás ha sido puesta en duda; pero sí frequentemente olvidada.

“En 1818 la Gran Bretaña pagó á España la gruesa cantidad de £400,000 para indem-

SLAVERY IN CUBA.

THE following Memorial has been addressed by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to Lord Salisbury:—

*27, New Broad Street,
3rd November, 1879.*

MY LORD,—The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society are impelled once more to address Her Majesty's Government, on behalf of the Africans still held in a state of slavery in Cuba, on the ground that the question is now the foremost for discussion at Madrid, and that it stands in a critical position. Moreover, the measures which have been proposed for its solution are unjust to the enslaved, and incompatible with the obligations of Spain towards the British nation, whilst they must necessarily prove as subversive of the interests of the planters, as they are of those of the slave.

The Committee venture very briefly to refer to the statement which they laid before your Lordship by deputation in February last, at the time when General Campos, having effected the pacification of Cuba, had removed the last plea that Spain could possibly urge for delaying to carry out a measure of complete emancipation. They then stated to your Lordship that—

“General Campos will now have to arrange with the Government at Madrid those measures which shall determine not only the relations of Cuba with the mother country, but its internal conditions and its relations with the rest of the world. It is in this settlement that the British nation have an undoubted right to exercise a voice, and are under an obligation to use those Treaty rights which it possesses, on behalf alike of the claims of humanity and of the interests of England and of other nations.

“The validity of the claim of England to the enfranchisement of the slave population of Cuba has never been contested, but it is, nevertheless, too often forgotten.

“In 1818, Great Britain paid to Spain the large sum of £400,000 to compensate her

nizarla de los perjuicios que alegaba se la iban á causar con la supresion del trafico de esclavos, al par que se obligó á abolir la esclavitud en todas sus posesiones para el dia 30 de Mayo de 1820.

"Desde 1820 la importacion de negros en Cuba ha excedido, segun el calculo mas bajo, á mas del doble del numero de esclavos que se asegura oficialmente que existe hoy en aquella isla; y como el total de estos ha sido introducido violando los tratados y convenciones celebrados con la Gran Bretaña, el Gobierno de S. M. tiene un derecho incuestionable para exigir su inmediata emancipacion."

Como el Comité auguró entonces, aquellas prudentes concesiones con las cuales el General Campos habia realizado la pacificacion de la isla, incluyendo en ellas el ofrecimiento de una medida para la pronta emancipacion de los esclavos, han encontrado en Madrid una decidida oposicion de parte de los poderosos intereses esclavitas. Es Comité ha sabido por medio de informes privados, y por medio de las noticias publicas que circulan, que se proponen emplear todos los recursos posibles para rechazar las medidas propuestas por el citado General Campos, y muy especialmente la que hace relacion con la emancipacion de los esclavos, las cuales sostuvo entonces como indispensables, si Cuba habia de continuar siendo una colonia de España.

Si por desgracia esta oposicion triunfase el Comité tiene justas razones para creer, que la insurreccion de Cuba volverá á renacer de una manera mas potente que antes.

Sensible es tener que llamar la atencion sobre lo futile y ridiculo de los planes presentados para una paulatina y gradual emancipacion, que han sido redactados por una Comision; y justo será hacer ver que son de una naturaleza tal á combinar casi todos los elementos productivos de mutua irritacion y descontento, aun cuando no fuesen objeto de una resistencia universal, y pueden provocar una lucha á la que se verán arrastrados los mismos intereses que se intentan proteger. Las medidas que representan una sombra de libertad, cuando en realidad solo tienden á posponerla indefinida y remotamente, se ha provoco en todas ocaciones que tienden aun mas directamente á la anarquia y al motin que la dureza del regimen de la misma esclavitud.

for losses which she alleged she would sustain by the suppression of the slave-trade, and which she pledged herself to abolish throughout all her possessions on the 30th of May, 1820.

"Since 1820, the importations of negroes into Cuba have at the lowest estimate exceeded more than twofold the number of slaves now officially reported as existing in that Island; and as the whole of these have been introduced in violation of the Treaties and Conventions with Great Britain, Her Majesty's Government has an undoubted right to demand their immediate liberation."

As the Committee then fully anticipated those wise concessions by which General Campos had effected the settlement of Cuba, including a measure for the prompt emancipation of the slaves, have met with a determined opposition from the powerful slave interest at Madrid. They learn from both public and private sources that every means will be resorted to in order to repudiate the compact of General Campos, more especially in respect to slave emancipation, which he formerly maintained to be essential if Cuba is to be retained as a Colony of Spain. Should this supposition, unhappily, prove successful, the Committee have good reason for believing that the insurrection in Cuba will be resumed on a more extended scale than before.

It is needless to advert to the futile and delusive plans for a slow and gradual emancipation which have been put forth by a Commission, but it may suffice to say that they are such as to combine almost every element productive of mutual irritation and discontent, even should they not be met by a universal resistance, and a struggle which may engulf those very interests which they are designed to protect. Measures which give but the shadow of freedom while its substance is indefinitely or remotely postponed, have in every instance proved more directly conducive to anarchy and revolt than even the ruthless régime of slavery itself.

El Comité tiene la satisfaccion de creer que tales eran las opiniones del distinguido General, que ha henido la suerte de poner fin á la sangrienta y desastrosa guerra civil que por tan largo tiempo desoló los campos de Cuba, y quien actualmente ocupa el puesto mas importante en los consejos de España.

Los esfuerzos del estenso é independiente partido abolitionista de España para procurar la ejecucion de una medida que, al mismo tiempo que conceda una completa y absoluta libertad á los Africanos esclavizados en Cuba, consienta que España pueda cumplir las obligaciones convenidas con la Gran Bretaña, aparecen sin embargo, en gran peligro de ser desatendidos y frustrados en esta ocasion, no por la tactica de una combinacion politica ordinaria, sino por la decidida oposicion de un pequeno numero si, pero rico y poco escrupuloso en sus procederes, de poseedores de esclavos, cuya accion, si triunfase, pospondria casi indefinidamente la emancipacion de los oprimidos esclavos.

El Comité puede asegurar bajo la fé de informes fidedignos que los proyectos que van á ser ahora presentados á las Cortes merecen todas las objeciones que acabamos de enumerar, y servirán solo para dar una libertad nominal, que en realidad no será otra cosa mas, que el sostennimiento de un depresivo estado de esclavitud, como tuvo ya lugar con los desgraciados "*Emancipados*."

Estos seres desgraciados, despues de haber sido declarados libres por la Comision Mixta, fueron, como es bien sabido, mas cruelmente tratados y mas sin consideraciones oprimidos, que los mismos esclavos, pues sus patrones no tenian ya el mismo interés en la preservacion de su desventurada existencia!

Los resultados que se han obtenido con la emancipacion de los esclavos donde quiera que se ha hecho de una manera pronta y completa, autorizan al Comité á hablar con confianza en apoyo de esta opinion. La simulacion de la esclavitud bajo la forma de aprendisage en las dependencias britanicas reportó una desorganizacion del trabajo mucho mas deplorable.

De la otra manera, en cambio—primero con la emancipacion inmediata en las Colonias Francesas en 1848, y luego mas recientemente con la de toda la poblacion negra de los Estados del Sur de America—hemos visto que las industrias productivas de aque-

The Committee have the satisfaction of believing that such were the views of the distinguished General who alone was able to bring to an end the bloody and disastrous civil war that has so long raged in Cuba, and who himself now occupies the foremost place in the councils of Spain.

The efforts of the large and independent Anti-Slavery party in Spain to procure the carrying out of a measure which, whilst giving complete and absolute freedom to the enslaved Africans in Cuba, would at the same time enable Spain to fulfil her treaty obligations to Great Britain, appear, however, to be in great danger at this juncture of being overborne and frustrated—not by the tactics of ordinary political warfare, but by the determined opposition of a small, but wealthy and unscrupulous Slaveholding clique, whose action, if successful, will postpone, almost indefinitely, the emancipation of the oppressed slaves.

The Committee are able to state on reliable information that the proposal now announced as about to be presented to the Cortes is open to all the objections urged, and would, whilst giving nominal freedom, actually result in maintaining a protracted state of slavery—as has already been the case with the unfortunate "*Emancipados*."

These wretched beings, after having been declared free by the Mixed Commission Court, were, as is well known, more cruelly treated and more hopelessly enslaved than the slaves themselves; for their masters had not the same interest in the preservation of their unhappy lives!

The results which have attended slave-emancipation, when it has been prompt and complete, enable the Committee to speak with confidence in support of this view. The protraction of slavery under the form of apprenticeship in the British Dependencies, left behind it a disorganisation of labour much to be deplored.

On the other hand, however—first in the immediate emancipation in the French Colonies in 1848, and again, more recently, in that of the whole negro population of the Southern States of America—we have seen that the productive industries of those countries have been amply maintained.

los paises se han mantenido con toda amplitud.

Dificilmente ha podido realizarse una repentina emancipacion bajo auspicios mas comprometedores que los de las agonias de una sanguinaria guerra civil, y sin embargo, nos encontramos con que la produccion del algodon de America es ahora mucho mayor que lo era en los dias de la esclavitud ! *

Mas tarde aun, la completa emancipacion que Espana misma realizó en su colonia de Puerto Rico, tan pacifica como ventajosa, servirá para demostrar que, de llevarse á efecto una medida semejante en Cuba en 1868, Espana pudo muy bien haber economizado la sangre y los ricos tesoros derramados, que han contribuido en tan largo tiempo, á empobrecer y desmoralizar su poblacion.

En esta importante crisis, pues, el Comité de la Sociedad Abolicionista se atreve respetuosa y ardientemente á someter á la consideracion del Gobierno de S. M. que el honor y el credito de Inglaterra están á la vez, comprometidos en asegurar á los Africanos esclavizados en Cuba aquella absoluta e incondicional libertad que imperativamente exigen las obligaciones contraidas por Espana en sus tratados con este pais.

Tenemos el honor en nombre del Comité de suscribirnos de V. E. muy respetuosamente,

EDMUND STURGE, } Secretarios
JOSEPH COOPER, } Honorarios.
CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secretario.

Al muy Honorable Marques de Salisbury Caballero de la Liga, &c., Secretario Principal de Estado para los Negocios Estrangeros de S. M.

To this Memorial Lord Salisbury has replied as follows:—

"Foreign Office,
"November 14th, 1879.

"SIR,—I am directed by the Marquis of Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 3rd instant, recapitulating the statements laid before his Lordship in

* La cantidad de algodon producida en America durante los cinco años precedentes á la guerra civil fué de 18,759,077 bales. Durante los cinco años que han finalizado en 1878, la cantidad producida fué de 21,269,355.

It would scarcely have been possible to inaugurate a sudden emancipation under more unpromising conditions than amidst the agonies of a sanguinary civil war, and yet we find that the cotton production of America is now very much larger than it was in the days of slavery ! *

Later still the complete emancipation which Spain herself effected in the Colony of Porto Rico—as peaceful as it has proved successful—would serve to show that had a similar measure been effected in Cuba in 1868, Spain might have been spared that exhausting drain in blood and treasure which has so long contributed to impoverish and demoralise her people.

At this important crisis, therefore, the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society beg respectfully, but earnestly, to submit to Her Majesty's Government that the honour and credit of England are alike concerned in securing to the enslaved Africans in Cuba that absolute and unconditional freedom which the Treaty obligations of Spain with this country imperatively demand.

On behalf of the Committee, we subscribe ourselves,

Very respectfully,

EDMUND STURGE, } Hon.
JOSEPH COOPER, } Secs.
CHAS. H. ALLEN, Secretary.

To the Right Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G., &c., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

the month of February last by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on the subject of the emancipation of slaves in Cuba, and urging that the measures on this subject which have been recently submitted to the Cortes by the Government at Madrid are unjust and incompatible with the treaty obligations

* The quantity of cotton produced by America during the five years preceding the civil war was 18,759,077 bales. During the five years ending 1878 the quantity produced was 21,269,355 bales.

which Spain has contracted towards this country for the suppression of the slave-trade.

"Lord Salisbury does not think it necessary at present to express any opinion upon the construction which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society places upon the treaty engagements contracted by Spain towards this country.

"In the objects which the Committee have in view, Her Majesty's Government heartily sympathise, and they will continue to pursue the course which appears to them best calculated to secure the accomplishment of that policy.

"Her Majesty's Minister at Madrid will receive instructions to avail himself of every favourable opportunity for that purpose.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,
"TENTERDEN."

A copy of the above Memorial was forwarded to the *Times*, with the following letter, addressed to the Editor by Mr. Edmund Sturge, the sentiments of which will be heartily endorsed by all friends of the enslaved and down-trodden Africans of Cuba:—

(To the Editor of the *Times*.)

SIR,—The existing crisis of the slavery question at Madrid and of the fate of the enslaved Africans in Cuba, has induced the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society to address Her Majesty's Government once more upon the subject.

After the varying programmes which have been propounded by the slave party, of schemes of a gradual emancipation, General Martinez Campos would appear so far to have carried his point as to propose to the Cortes a measure that shall bear the title of "immediate," and shall at once declare the slave to be an "*emancipado*." The details of the measure have not yet reached us, but Senor d'Albacete, the Minister of the Colonies, has stated that the slave will be "compelled" to work eight years for his owner, and that he will be subject, not to the ordinary civil jurisdiction of the island, but to martial law. This last and terrible provision is alone sufficient to condemn the entire scheme. We know what this meant when administered by Englishmen upon negroes at Morant Bay in 1865. Alas! for its victims when administered by Spaniards, and that in the island of Cuba! Meanwhile, the rumours

current at Madrid indicate that the colony is again in a most dangerous state. Reinforcements to the already enormous military establishment in the island are being hurried off; but, as if one more incentive to revolt were wanting, it is now supplied by a measure which "promises liberty to the ear but breaks it to the heart."

There seems no power given to men to arrest the Nemesis of Nations. You have of late very fully depicted the infatuation of Turkey and its fruits in Asia Minor. In like manner, the deep corruption and crime which reign in Cuba are hastening its ruin; and now, with those full powers which England possesses in virtue of her treaties, will she not at length interpose to avert the catastrophe?

Yours truly,

EDMD. STURGE.

*Devonshire House Hotel,
Bishopsgate Without.
November 6.*

The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, feeling that no time was to be lost in strengthening the hands of the anti-slavery party in Spain, had the foregoing Memorial to Lord Salisbury translated into Spanish, and have forwarded several hundred copies of the same to trustworthy persons in Madrid, for distribution in that city. They also sent copies by post to General Martinez Campos, Senor Castelar, and other leaders of the political parties in Spain.

We print portion of another letter received under date 10th November, 1879, from which it will be seen that a strong feeling of opposition to the Bill has arisen. We shall be glad if General Campos is defeated in his attempt to pass so flagrant a sham as this Bill will prove to be, if it once comes into force; for we think that he will not be sorry if, by dissolving the two legislative bodies, he should eventually be enabled to pass another measure more in consonance with the views he has formerly expressed.

"We are working as hard as we can. We had a meeting of the members of the Society yesterday. According to the laws, we had to accommodate our Society to the new law about public associations, and we had a good deal of trouble to get the requisite authorisation. In our first meeting yesterday we appointed the new Junta, and our good friend Sanroma has been elected

president. I send you a little editorial, giving an account of the meeting. You know already what the law proposed by Martinez Campos is. In the first article the Government declare that from the day the law is published in Havannah, *slavery will cease in Cuba*; but in the other articles it is established that the *emancipado* will remain in the hands of the master eight years.

"This is simply *hypocrisy*. Yet Romero Robledo—the son-in-law of Zulueta, and who was Minister of the Interior since the Restoration—has condemned the Bill as *too liberal*, and has divided the majority of the House to combat it. Romero has already 150 *disputados* at his orders. Sagasta will oppose it, because it is *too conservative*; and Sagasta has about forty *disputados*. The Liberal party in Congress has about fifteen members, so that there will be about 200 votes against it. If it is so, the Bill will be defeated; and in this case some political persons believe that Martinez Campos will dissolve both Chambers, and proceed to new elections. If he does so, he will present another Bill more radical, as the present Bill is a transaction with the Conservatives, who are in a majority. General Martinez Campos is a sincere abolitionist, and he is bound to declare *immediate emancipation in Cuba*, as he agreed with the chief of the Cuban insurrection.

"As you can see in the cut I send you from the *Liberal*—a new popular paper—that we must have a meeting, but we cannot fix the day exactly. We wish to have it, and some others, at the same time that the Bill is in Congress and the discussion begun. The Bill is now in the Senate, where it will pass easily. The great fight is in Congress."

THE PROPOSED CHINESE COOLIE IMMIGRATION INTO BRAZIL.

WITH reference to this subject we reprint part of a speech made to the Chamber of Deputies in Brazil by Deputy Joaquim Nabuco on the 1st September, 1879:—

"Is the Chinaman necessary? Who wants him? The noble president made an agricultural congress. What the members of the congress wanted was Chinese obtained through contract, a system called the coolie traffic, and

not the spontaneous immigration of Chinese to Brazil. Fortunately, however, China has had this traffic stopped for humanity's sake.

"We have inherited slavery, which unfortunately cannot be done away with suddenly. But, even so, would it not be better for the statesmen to whom are committed the fortunes of our state and the future of our race, to endeavour to develop and protect free labour instead of trying to prolong slavery by means of the Chinese—the more so as their defenders confess that the coolie element is immoral, low, servile, and will serve only to contaminate our population and degrade our country?

"Is there a lack of labourers? If such a want exists, it is not because they cannot be found in the empire, but because the good ones, those capable of work, do not go to agriculture. Is it not because slavery impedes this development of the character, energy and individual qualities in the countries where it exists, on the part of those who are subject to it, and keeps them from those kinds of labour that are considered servile? You cannot have free and slave labour at the same time, nor slavery and immigration. We must choose between them. Are we to put our trust in slavery or in free labour? Being so, gentlemen, the substitute is not the Chinese; it is a much more tolerable lot and an easier one which should be meted out to the slave family. It is, on the other hand, the education of the freeborn children. We should give to those who are born free, and who at twenty-one are to enter into the enjoyment of their liberty according to the law of the 28th of September, a proper education which will not leave them incapable of the social duties which are to devolve upon them.

"The ministry, or the liberal Camara, which took away from freedmen their right to vote, did not take it away from those freeborn, and is it not now time to think of the education and of the future of men destined to form a part of Brazilian society?

"These are the grave and important questions which bear upon the transition from slave to free labour; and the Government, instead of thinking, as it does, of how to create what will be practically a new slavery, should think of the means of reconciling to agricultural life the race which is to-day employed in the cultivation of the soil with slave labour and the new free generations which are arising, in giving to the former slave family that which

every man needs to have, stimulus to labour and to render this labour productive. Instead of Chinese immigration it should set about it courageously to resolve this great problem, extinguishing domestic slavery instead of rendering slavery a reality in a kind of colonist, binding the present slave to the soil instead of rendering him a mere hind, during the transition which would be short, opening a future in labour to the race which has been used as slaves, giving it an interest in the soil, a fatherland in the country. If many injustices which oppose themselves to our progress were repaired by humane laws, I am sure that the country would get a much better result from this strong force, from this better comprehension of its true interests both material and moral, than in attempting to renew the source of traffic, using Asia where she formerly used Africa, seeking a yellow with the black in the slave quarter, in the fields, and in the family. The slavery that came to us from Africa has been the cause of this uncertainty of our future, of all the ills which we complain of which affect family, society, religion, politics, and economic organisation. This other from Asia is arising to-day obscure, indifferent, and evil-omened. So rise great rivers. Where they first trickle from the earth they are hardly visible, mere threads of water which afterwards go on growing and swelling insensibly till they are Amazons or Mississippi."

On the 1st October the Prime Minister, Conselheiro Sinimbú, gave an exposition of the views of the Brazilian Government on this question in the following address to the Senate, which we reproduce from the *Rio News* of October 5:—

"The noble senator from Paraná wishes to know whether the Government can count upon the success of the mission which it is going to send to the Celestial Empire. I answer that in treating with a Government like that of China, it is impossible to anticipate the result of the negotiation undertaken. The noble senator knows that by the isolated situation of that Government, by its peculiar civilisation, by the character of the people themselves, it is in general rather restricted in its relations with the peoples of the West. I cannot, therefore, tell beforehand what the result of this mission will be. I may, however, say this much, that the Government has some reason for believing in the efficacy of the mission.

"The noble senator has found, Mr. Pre-

sident, and with good reason, that the prohibition measures adopted in the United States to impede the progress of Chinese immigration are not applicable to this country. He cannot fail to recognise the difference in the circumstances of the two countries. In the United States opposition to the Chinese immigrant is justly founded upon a fact that may be turned to our advantage: that is, the European immigrant encounters a terrible opponent in the Chinese labourer, who is temperate, hardworking, patient, careful, and even intelligent. This labourer makes a dangerous competitor to the European labourer, who, though he may be more intelligent, has not the same habits of sobriety, from which lack there results a smaller enjoyment of the fruits of labour. The Chinese labourer being more temperate, receives a smaller salary and so leaves a broader margin of profits to the proprietor, or to his employer. And this is exactly one of the reasons why we should desire him for our country. In a position like ours, in which agricultural methods are still so imperfect, in which, we may say, main strength must supply the lack of intelligence and the imperfection of methods employed, we want labourers on small salaries; and this is what we have in the Chinese.

"We have seen, Mr. President, that people like ourselves, descendants of a European race, but who are employed in the cultivation of intertropical products, in the absence of slave labour, have no other means of sustaining or increasing their production except by the use of the Asiatic labourer. I am aware of the fact that some persons think that the holding of property on a large scale ought to be substituted by small estates, while others think the large planters ought to be interested in getting out European colonists, and with their aid to begin the true cultivation of their lands. This seems to me to be nothing more than an idle fancy. The European does not emigrate to America except in the hope, or almost the certainty, of becoming a holder of property for himself and for his children. But should our system of extended cultivation go dividing up the land with European immigrants, what would become of these proprietors? Naturally they would have to abandon agriculture; then what career would they follow? Either they must become very poor, or they must follow some branch of public life, which even now is insufficient for those who do not follow agriculture. I understand, then, that Chinese immigration

to this country is a necessity, and without it planting on a large scale will find itself very much embarrassed.

"I have already said that I cannot guarantee the result of the mission. The Government, however, before undertaking it, took the necessary precautions for knowing whether it could succeed. For this purpose we addressed ourselves to our legations in London and in the United States. As there were Chinese embassies of the first order in those countries, we thought it well to sound the feelings of the Ministers of China, to find out if it would be an easy matter to open relations there. From both these embassies we have received hopeful communications. The one in London went further. From a hint from our minister, it took upon itself to consult the Chinese Government as to whether a mission from Brazil would be received, and in reply a telegram came saying that that Government would not refuse to receive a mission sent by the Government of his Majesty the Emperor of Brazil. It is clear then that there is a well-founded reason for hoping that our mission will be successful, as we are officially informed that there is no refusal to treat with us.

"The noble senator from Paraná has asked whether I felt uneasy about the intrigues which have been carried on, especially by the Anti-Slavery Society, to bring Brazil into discredit in the matter of this immigration.

"I would say to the noble senator that to me that is no strange document which this Society addressed to the Chinese Ambassador in London, in which it warned him that he should not facilitate negotiations with the Brazilian Government because slavery exists in this country. But, Mr. President, I have no fears on this head; and I ought to call to the mind of the Senate that there are probably still in this House some of the members who served in the Legislature of 1843, who can bear witness to the truth of what I am about to refer to. When, at that time, the English flag was meeting with great losses on the coast of Africa, and was finally convinced that by its own efforts it could not put a stop to slave commerce, there came to this capital an ambassador, Mr. Ellis, to treat with the Government of Brazil, in order to obtain our co-operation in rendering the blockade of the African coasts more effective. Upon this occasion the offer was made on the part of the English Government to the Imperial Government for

the introduction of 60,000 coolies. I remember that the Marquez do Paraná, then Minister of Foreign Affairs, convoked the Chamber of Deputies in the Department of Justice, and laid the matter before it; but, whether for good or evil, the truth is, that their resolution was opposed to it, and that this attempt on the part of the English Government to introduce free labourers into our country, miscarried. If, then, the English Government at that distant day thought the introduction of coolies, or Chinese immigration, into this country possible, notwithstanding the existence of slavery, how is it that to-day, when slavery is about to be abolished, seeing that its doom is already sealed, she can place herself in opposition to this immigration through the manipulations of the Anti-Slavery Society? I do not believe it. I say further, that if the Anti-Slavery Society were inspired by sentiments of humanity, it should rather lend its aid to hasten this immigration, because, gentlemen, it is my opinion that those who most earnestly desire to hasten the end of slavery among us are those who endeavour most to introduce labourers to substitute the element which is generally condemned. If the landholders of Brazil could easily obtain labourers on the same conditions as the Chinese, a peaceable hard-working race, adapted to all sorts of labour, they would of themselves hasten emancipation. I do not believe though that the Anti-Slavery Society can frustrate the end we have in view.

"The noble senator also wishes to know in what manner Chinese immigration to this country is to be effected. This point is not yet definitely decided; it depends upon circumstances. I may, however, say at once, that the Government does not wish to take directly upon itself the introduction of these labourers; what it wishes to accomplish by the mission is merely to facilitate it. It is clear that the Chinese cannot come to Brazil with the consent of their Government as long as they have no certainty of finding agents of that Government here, who may look after their rights. The action of the Brazilian Government, then, is only with the view of overcoming obstacles which may embarrass immigration. The manner of transporting these labourers, the conditions of embarkation, the places of their residence and their transportation to the interior, will all be determined by regulations, while the indispensable agents will be appointed

to fiscalize the execution of these conditions. This is the base upon which the Government stands; leaving it, however, to private enterprise, and, for the most part, to the planters, to establish methods for themselves for bringing this immigration about. I know that different companies, similar to those for the introduction of European colonists, have presented themselves for the importation of Chinamen, and I am told that the planters wish to effect this importation on their own account. Some merchants here wish to incorporate a company in which the landowners have an interest, to bring about this immigration. Besides this, I know that a member of the Ministry received propositions from some planters in São Paulo who wish to take this matter in hand. One society was already formed for this purpose, but, if I mistake not, it has already fallen through, on account of not having realised the conditions of the contract within the specified time. The Government does not wish to effect the transportation of these immigrants by a privilege. Its desire is to leave the matter open to free competition, and its idea is that the coming of these labourers should be advantageous both to themselves and to the planters.

"I have heard this immigration spoken against, because it was thought that from it would result a degeneration of the races now existing in the country. But experience has shown that in the mingling of two races, one superior and the other inferior, the latter is always ruled by the former. This is shown by experience in all countries. It may be added, too, that even should a large number of these Asiatic labourers come, it is clear that they always intend returning to their own country, carrying their love of their homes to such an extent as to stipulate that after death their bodies shall be sent back to their native land. This shows that their wishing to fix themselves among us definitely is not to be feared. And even should they wish it, what harm can come to this country from it, a country with such an extent of territory? No harm can come from it; on the contrary, it will be an advantage.

"The circumstances of our large labour system are well known. We should not trust entirely to the children of slaves. We ought to seek resources for the planters; we ought to reserve our forces so that at a period not far distant we may successfully bring about the results which we all hope for, that is, the augmentation of the number of labourers.

From the *Rio News* of October 15th we quote the following leading article, which will serve to show that the Government policy on this question is anything but popular:—

"It appears that the chief reason why the Government wants Chinese labour is its usefulness, if not its necessity, to the present system of large proprietors. 'I understand,' says Mr. Sinimbú, 'that Chinese immigration to this country is a necessity, and without it planting on a large scale will find itself very much embarrassed.' And in view of the possible division of these large estates, the greater number of which are now uncultivated, or wasted by a most vicious and prodigal system of cultivation, he asks, 'What would become of these proprietors? Naturally they would have to abandon agriculture; then what career would they follow? Either they must become very poor, or they must follow some branch of public life, which even now is insufficient for those who do not follow agriculture.' Are we then to understand that there are but two avocations into which a Brazilian can enter—agriculture or public employment? Does Mr. Sinimbú hold that the various conditions of life which are known and honoured in other parts of the world are unsuited to Brazilians, or unworthy of their choice? Must we believe that this Government is established for the special benefit of its public employés and its wealthy proprietors, and that all other classes and occupations must shift for themselves as best they can? Does the Brazilian Government announce to the world that the man whose estate is estimated by square leagues has claims upon its care and legislation to the exclusion and injury of the poor man whose simple necessities are dependent upon his daily toil? If it does not accept these conclusions then it must reject the position assumed by its Prime Minister in favour of Chinese labour. There can be no legislation in favour of a certain class without an injury to all others, and when that class happens to be the wealthiest and most powerful, the injury resulting to the others is beyond calculation. If the great landholders cannot sustain themselves without slavery or without Government support, then let them fall! If they are too indolent, too ignorant, too weak, to keep up their establishments without servile labour, then they deserve to fall, and with their fall will come the regeneration of Brazil. There is no country on

the face of the globe to-day with a system of cultivation so wasteful as that of Brazil; there is no country whose agricultural proprietors, as a class, are so ignorant of their calling and less progressive than those of Brazil; there is no country where the system of cheap servile labour has been tried under more favourable auspices, and where it has so signally failed as in Brazil; and there is no country where the same class has had a more complete control of the Government and better opportunities to strengthen itself by legislation than in Brazil. And yet, we are informed to-day, by the chief of the Imperial Cabinet, who is himself a large landholder, 'that we ought to seek resources for the planters,' and that without Chinese servile labour they will become 'very much embarrassed.' Then let them become 'embarrassed'; and let them suffer the consequences. If they are too indolent and impotent to help themselves, their places should be filled by better men. Moreover, if the Government's influence is to be employed in this matter, instead of introducing a retroactive, servile class, let it use all just means to break up these estates and to give substantial encouragement to the European immigrant and the small proprietor. Let the legislature impose a tax on land, and repeal the tax on transfers, adopt a better system for the registration and transmission of titles to property, admit naturalised foreigners to all the rights of citizenship, annul the present system of colonisation, confine the authority of the church within its proper sphere, abolish every species of export duty and reduce the duties on imports, reduce the freight rates on Government roads, turn out one-half of the public officials and compel the rest to observe the principle that they are public servants rather than public overseers, and dignify all occupations by recognising the superiority of none. We do not include 'electoral reform' because it will accomplish nothing. Of the others, it is safe to predict that no real prosperity will ever visit this country until they are accepted and incorporated into its political institutions. We cannot see that the economic laws which have governed the development of other countries are inapplicable to the conditions and requirements of Brazil; on the contrary, we must insist that the same economic errors will necessarily produce the same economic results. This effort, therefore, to administer the government for the benefit of its great proprietors will fail

just as inevitably as it failed in France. The real strength of a country lies in its middle class, and this middle class is just the one that will suffer most through the policy of introducing Chinese to sustain and perpetuate this vicious system of large proprietorships."

On receiving the full report of the Prime Minister's exposition of the Brazilian policy in respect to Chinese immigration the Committee sent the following letter to His Excellency the Chinese Ambassador in London, together with a copy of Conselheiro Sinimbú's address:—

**TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE MARQUIS TSENG,
ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY FROM THE
EMPIRE OF CHINA TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES'S.**

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,— On behalf of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, we beg to call the attention of your Excellency to the speech of the Prime Minister of Brazil—Conselheiro Sinimbú—addressed to the Senate on the 1st ultimo, on the question of the proposed Treaty between Brazil and China for the introduction of Chinese coolies into Brazil.

At the same time we beg leave to offer a few remarks upon some of the statements put forward by the Minister.

In the first place we would observe that the comparison made between the United States of North America and the slaveholding empire of Brazil as a field for Chinese immigration is unjust and misleading.

In North America, as well as in the British Colonies of Australia, there has long been a very large influx of Chinese immigrants, and these men have competed with white labour so as to arouse jealousy and hostility amongst the immigrants from European countries. To such an extent has the feeling of resentment grown in the United States and in Australia that extraordinary restrictions and impediments have been placed upon the introduction of Chinese by the Governments of those countries.

The Anti-Slavery Committee have no wish to encourage such restrictions in countries where the immigration from China is free and open, and where the Chinese labourer is subject to the same laws that govern the

white man. It is then quite as easy for him to change masters or to leave the country as it is for the white labourer, and hence none of the evils which befall the indentured coolie are to be feared.

As your Excellency has already been informed in our letter of August 14th, the Empire of Brazil is a country in which the institution of slavery may continue to exist for a period of almost half a century, and it is certain that unless the Legislature should wisely shorten the time, it must yet last for at least several years.

The history of all countries in which slavery exists serves to show that whenever other labour is introduced from without—be it Chinese, Indian, or African—no safeguards that can be framed are able to secure the immigrant from the evils of slavery. Slavery and free-labour cannot exist and grow up side by side. In support of this statement we would refer your Excellency to the startling revelations made by Consul Crawford when we had the honour of meeting your Excellency in deputation last April, relative to the sufferings of Chinese coolies in Cuba.

We therefore feel bound to impress upon your Excellency the importance of using every effort to save your countrymen from the sad fate that has overtaken so many thousands in Cuba and Peru. If Chinese immigration is to take place into Brazil let it be exempt from all the restrictions of indenture and forced labour, though then we fear it will not meet the views of the Brazilian planter. The immigrant should always be free to come and go as he may feel inclined; for should he be bound down for a term of years, his condition will be little removed from that of the actual slave.

As your Excellency is aware from the experience in Cuba both treaties and laws are of little avail for protection in countries where slavery exists; and if anything could more strongly illustrate this in the case of Brazil it is the fact that even emigrants from England found their condition and treatment so deplorable as to require the most urgent efforts for their rescue from a state of absolute destitution.

We trust that your Excellency will use your influence with the Chinese Government to prevent the conclusion of a treaty with Brazil until slavery has ceased to exist in that country, otherwise it may be

the means of consigning thousands of your poorer countrymen to a state of hopeless and cruel slavery.

On behalf of the Committee,

We are, with much respect,

JOSEPH COOPER, } Hon. Secs.

EDMUND STURGE, }

CHARLES H. ALLEN, Secretary.

27, New Broad Street, London, E.C.,
November 4th, 1879.

To this letter the Committee have received the following very satisfactory reply from Dr. Halliday Macartney, on behalf of His Excellency the Marquis Tseng, and they now trust that in spite of the efforts of the slave-holding party in Brazil, backed as they have been by the Prime Minister of that country, there is but little danger that the Chinese Government will enter into any Treaty that shall allow of immigration to Brazil upon the *forced labour*, or *indenture* system—a system which is, as all the world knows, only *slavery* in disguise.

"Chinese Legation, London,
"6th November, 1879.

"GENTLEMEN,—In reply to the communication which you were so good as to address to the Chinese Minister on the 4th inst., I have been directed by His Excellency to present to you his sincere thanks, and at the same time to assure the Committee that his Government are quite at one with them regarding the unadvisability of sanctioning any kind of emigration which would in the slightest degree restrict the independence of the emigrant. The Committee appear to be under the impression that the Chinese Government are about to enter into a Convention with Brazil, having for its object the importation into that country of Chinese labour; but His Excellency begs to assure them that such is not the case, and that his Government have, in replying to the overtures of the Brazilian Government, resolutely declined to entertain the discussion of that subject in any form. This does not arise from the existence of anything which is peculiar to Brazil, but partly on account of the representations which the Committee have at various times made to the Chinese Minister, and partly, in consequence of the result of inquiries which the Chinese Government have made into the condition of Chinese labourers now fulfilling their contracts in

foreign countries, the Government have resolved on discountenancing overtures for the supply of Chinese labour, irrespective of the quarter whence they may emanate. Neither does it appear that such Conventions are in the least necessary, for, experience has shown that, wherever Chinese labourers have been fairly treated, and an adequate remuneration been paid them for their services, they have gone thither in sufficient numbers of their own accord.

"I have the honour to be,

"Gentlemen,

"Your most obedient humble Servant,

"HALLIDAY MACARTNEY.

"*The Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, E.C.*"

By the Brazil mail just delivered we are sorry to find that the Embassy to China has received the Imperial sanction and is about to start for that country. The following short leader from the *Rio News* of November 5th contains the latest that is known on this subject, but we trust that after the decided tone taken by the Chinese Ambassador in London the Mission will not be able to enter into any Treaty that shall allow of enforced immigration and labour, for this, as is well known, is only another name for slavery:—

"By law No. 2,927, signed by the Emperor on the 18th ult., the supplementary credit of 120,000 dols. at the par of exchange for the payment of expenses for a mission to China, goes at once into effect, and there is no further bar to the purposes of the ministry. Many plain words have been spoken in this matter as to the inevitable results of introducing the Chinese into Brazil, but seemingly without effect. The dangers in this policy are hidden only to closed eyes, and they are vital ones. The liberal ministry of Conselheiro Sinimbú is assuming a grave responsibility in this matter; the introduction of the Chinese must inevitably continue and finish the work begun by slavery."

ABYSSINIA.

In our last number we presented our readers with a fac-simile of an Amharic letter from King John, pleading earnestly

for the cession of a Port to the kingdom of Abyssinia. We trust our Government has not lost sight of the memorial we presented them relative to the King of Shoa.

It is now our painful duty to chronicle the death of one who, by some persons, was looked upon as a possible future claimant to the Abyssinian throne.

The young Prince Alamayu, son of the late King Theodore, our brave but misguided and unfortunate antagonist, died at Leeds, on the 16th of November, from the effects of a severe cold, at the early age of nineteen. His death, though in many respects to be deplored, will no doubt be regarded by King John as strengthening his position on his somewhat storm-tossed throne. It would be useless now to speculate whether Abyssinia might not have been largely the gainer if this English-speaking and cultivated young prince had in the course of events been called upon to wear the crown which his father lost by his mad persistence in a course of despotic cruelty.

The young prince was a great favourite with our own Royal family, and Her Majesty has shown her regard for his memory by ordering a special vault to be prepared for his remains in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

The *Daily News* gives the following account of the late prince:—

"Prince Alamayu died yesterday, at Leeds, from a severe chill caught there on October 11th. A Rugby correspondent writes: He was born in April, 1861, and was consequently eighteen years of age, and was the son of Theodore, King of Abyssinia, and of a Princess of Teeqray, a feudatory province north of Abyssinia. For eight years the young prince was an inmate of Dr. Jex-Blake's (head-master of Rugby School) family, and Mrs. Jex-Blake was with him during his illness. He was born in the mountains east of Lake Tzana, at Debra Tabor, and his mother was as fair of skin as many Europeans. She was the only wife married by King Theodore with celebration of the Holy Communion, the most sacred form of Abyssinian marriage. The English Government adopted the young Prince at King Theodore's request, and Alamayu's mother died, in Egypt, on her way to England with Lord Napier of Magdala, in 1868. For two or three years the Prince was at Rugby School, and boarded at the Rev. C. Elsee's house, on the Hillmorton Road. He then went to Sandhurst for a year, and was completing his education under Professor Ransome, at Leeds, when illness interrupted his studies. For the last few days the Prince has been wandering at times, but expressed himself

as not afraid to die. The news of the death of Prince Alamayu cast a gloom over the scholars at Rugby School, and also over the town, as many of the inhabitants became acquainted with him during his residence there. He is described as a bright, intelligent youth, with full command of the English language."

We fear that all is not so satisfactory in the relations between Egypt and Abyssinia as we were led to believe, for as we go to press we find the following account of serious difficulties in Abyssinia, forwarded by the Alexandrian correspondent of the *Daily News*, dated 26th November:—

"Further information has been received confirming the statement that Colonel Gordon's special mission to Abyssinia has been unsuccessful. King John insists on his demand for Massowah, or some other port on the Red Sea, and the payment of a large subsidy. He threatens to detain Colonel Gordon and declare war."

The following telegram, through Reuter's Agency, speaks of further hostile action on the part of King John, and is dated from *Rome*, 2nd December:—

"Intelligence received here states that the Bishop of Massaia, Vicar Apostolic in the Gallas country (Abyssinia), who has always given substantial assistance to scientific expeditions passing through that district, is detained prisoner near Debratabar by the King of Abyssinia. The Vatican, through Cardinal Nina, Secretary of State, sent a despatch on the 29th ult. to the French Government, earnestly requesting that they, and other Governments through the intermediary of France, would use their influence to obtain the Bishop's liberation. The Pope will also despatch delegates to King John with the same object."

From the confused and distorted information that reaches us from time to time we gather that the principal cause of all this ill-blood between Egypt and Abyssinia is the refusal of the former power to cede the port of Massowah to King John, to whom it naturally belongs. We have always expressed this opinion, and this Society has urged upon the British Government the necessity that exists for the cession of a suitable port to Abyssinia, and also to the smaller kingdom of Shoa.

In the August number of the *Reporter* we printed an eloquent appeal from Menelek, King of Shoa, in which he implored the aid of this Society in procuring for him an

outlet by sea to his dominions which are virtually blockaded by Egypt.

This appeal was forwarded to Lord Salisbury. In our last number we printed the fac-simile of a similar appeal from King John of Abyssinia, and we now reproduce a strong confirmation of the view we have taken.

Mr. William Simpson, the well-known and talented artist of the *Illustrated News*, thus writes to the *Times* upon this subject, and few persons will deny his competency to form a judgment on this question. We commend his views to the serious consideration of all who are interested in the progress of freedom in Africa.

EGYPT AND ABYSSINIA.

(To the Editor of the *Times*.)

Sir,—When your Alexandria Correspondent states that Egypt "never really thought of annexing Abyssinia," one may be excused for having doubts. Lord Napier found an Egyptian army ready to assist him on his march to Magdala; fearing its ultimate object, this force was ordered to leave Abyssinian soil. When the late Khedive, in 1875, sent no less than three armies to invade Abyssinia his intentions were, I think, pretty evident. If a reference be made to E. A. De Cossen's work, "The Cradle of the Blue Nile," in which the author describes a visit he made in 1873 to the Court of King Yohannes, at Ambachara, near Gondar, the aggressive policy of Egypt will be found described in ample details. King Yohannes complained then that Ismail Pasha had taken "beyond the Mareb, the countries of Halhal, Kayekh-barea, Tsellim-barea, Bogos Taander, Henhub, Mensa, Ailet, Asgede-buk-gala, Zula, Tora, Sembali, Amphila, and all the land from the highlands to the sea called Hamassen. (Vol. 2, p. 40.) In that book will also be found what the Negus Negyst, or "King of the Kings of Ethiopia," said on the matter of slavery, and his desire to do what would be acceptable to "the graciousness of his Mother of England," as he called Queen Victoria. King Yohannes utterly annihilated the Egyptian forces sent against him; and since that he has conquered Menelek, the King of Shoa, and made friends with that personage afterwards—thus manifesting a very different spirit from that of his predecessor, King Theodore. He now reigns supreme over the whole of Abyssinia, and your correspondent states what is correct when he says King Yohannes "has succeeded in obtaining internal quiet." With the history of these events before us, there need be no hesitation in accepting the declaration of the Egyptian Government that it has no longer any desire to carry on conquest in Abyssinia. The truth is, the danger is now the other way. Egypt fears King Yohannes. The Negus Negyst desires a restoration of territory, and

is supposed to be in a position to enforce his demands. When passing through Alexandria, in July last, I learnt on good authority that King Yohannes only refrained from attacking Massowah out of deference to his "Mother in England," whom he feared to offend by such an act, and not from want of power. If the Negus Negyst really has this respect for the Queen and her Government—and I see no reason to doubt it—and the Egyptian authorities are also desirous of our good offices, a peaceful and most beneficial result might be easily effected by the use of our friendly influences. King Yohannes has all along insisted on his right to Massowah, or the right of access to the sea, and I think it is most important that the public should understand the bearings of this point. Abyssinia is isolated in her mountains, and cut off from all connection with the outer world; and this is mainly the cause of her very backward condition, for ethnologists give high standing to the race in their classification. Let her have an outlet, so that the products of the country can be exported, and a commencement will be made towards a better state of things. Abyssinia is known to be a very fruitful country: I had ocular evidence of this so far in the march to Magdala. Let this people have free access to Massowah, or to Annesley Bay, and a new route for commerce, not only to Abyssinia, but to the whole of tropical Africa, may be the result. If a little friendly counsel could achieve this, it would accomplish a double benefit; for England would also profit by such an opening for trade. There is still at the Court of Axum an official known as the Bahar-Negus, or King of the Sea. This might be translated as the Lerd High Admiral, or, to put the latest gloss on the words, "the Ruler of the King's Navy." For many generations this functionary has never seen a ship, but the office dates from a time when the Kings of Abyssinia had a port and a navy. There is no reason why that old position may not return again, but the fleet of the future in that region will be screw steamers, bearing wealth and civilisation from distant ports which were unknown to the ancient Kings of Ethiopia.

Yours obediently,
WILLIAM SIMPSON.

4, Lincoln's Inn Fields,
November 27th.

To this another correspondent adds some interesting particulars in the following letter:—

"(To the Editor of the *Times*.)

"SIR,—In connection with the above subject I can state with authority that the present Khedive of Egypt is undoubtedly most anxious for peace with Abyssinia, and heartily deplores the previous aggressive policy pursued by his father. In the cession, however, of Massowah, in addition to the restitution of all territory at present in the possession of Egypt previously belonging to Abyssinia, he naturally fears that the liberty this would give to a restless and

warlike race for a wholesale import of foreign arms would create a very considerable future source of danger to the southern possessions of Egypt. Hitherto, as King Johannes personally complained to me, a most effectual check has been imposed upon the entry of all arms and munitions of war into Abyssinia. There might be a return campaign.

"On the other hand, it must be confessed that there can be but small chance of development or progress for a country which is closed in on all sides by and forced to conduct all trade through a jealous neighbour.

"King Johannes on all occasions spoke to me in terms of great esteem for the English nation, to whom he attributes with justice his present position, and of admiration for the virtues of our Queen; but he has views of the possibility of settling political differences in manners somewhat at variance with those usually adopted by constitutional Governments towards their allies.

"It must not be overlooked that the King is most rigidly Christian, and has a deep-seated and vigorous dislike and mistrust of all things Mussulman. He has now in turn subdued the Southern Galla tribes and the King of Shoa, and has remained in undisputed possession of the throne since the deposition of Theodore. He therefore feels himself in a position of greater strength than has been long known in a country historically unceasingly torn by internal strife and dissension, and usually boasting two rival claimants for sovereignty.

"The hereditary foe, Egypt, on the other hand, has considerably reduced her forces and is financially embarrassed. It is therefore a fitting moment to press his claim.

"The country of Abyssinia is undoubtedly capable of great development, the soil extremely rich, the climate in most parts excellent; but at present the trade is confined to a few products easy of manipulation—hides, beeswax, pepper, &c.—and agriculture can be barely said to exist.

"Payments are principally matters of barter, the only metallic currency tolerated being the Maria Theresa dollar, which coin is even yet manufactured by the Austrian Government to supply the wants of this country and the Soudan.

"If King Johannes utilized a ceded port for the purpose of promoting and fostering a commercial taste among his people (most keenly alive to gain) it would be the means undoubtedly of opening a new market for the goods and enterprise of Europe. Their own hand-looms are of the most primitive construction, the imported goods of the cheapest and commonest descriptions.

"Yours most obediently,
"London, Dec. 3. W. W."

THE EXODUS FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES OF KANSAS.

IN continuation of this subject we print the following:—

(To the Editor of the *Times*.)

SIR,—In the *Times* of yesterday you commence a most instructive and suggestive article upon the present state of American politics in the following words:—"The ambition of the Democratic party in the United States has received a heavy blow."

The cause of the great revolution of feeling that has taken place in America is, perhaps, not very far to seek.

The exodus of coloured freedmen from the Southern States, which began on a small scale a few years ago, has now culminated in a stampede that appears likely to grow rather than diminish. This remarkable movement appears to have attracted but little notice in England, and yet the fact remains that thousands of negroes are flying from their former homes and are content to suffer terrible privations in the colder regions of the North rather than endure the unheard-of cruelties and oppression to which they are subjected by the Southern planters. The atrocities practised towards the unfortunate coloured population of the South almost exceed belief; nevertheless, we are compelled to admit the truth of the reports which from time to time reach us from reliable sources, and it is right that the generous people of England should have their sympathies afresh aroused towards their coloured brethren, whom they are apt to consider as tolerably well off now that they have regained their freedom—so called.

I have now before me two or three letters written by an English lady, who is devoting her life to the amelioration of the suffering refugees in Kansas. The truth of all the facts she relates is unfortunately indisputable. With your permission I will quote a few short extracts from her painfully interesting letters, but your readers may rest assured of the *bond fides* of the writer, and should they desire further information they can obtain it by applying at this office. For obvious reasons I withhold her name:—

"*Kansas, Oct. 20th, 1879.*

"Every day brings tidings of increasing numbers fleeing from outrage, robbery, and wrong, and many in terror of their lives, having

seen their relatives and friends shot down or hanged, and no redress, no punishment, follows the perpetrators of such deeds. By the laws of the Southern States a white man is not punished for robbing or cruelly treating a coloured man.

"The latest atrocity that has come under our notice is this:—A respectable coloured man came here at the commencement of the exodus, worked diligently, saved money enough to buy a little building plot, built a hut, went back to Mississippi for his wife and family, and was seized, dragged from the house, and both his hands cut off! He was then told, with fearful oaths, to 'go to Kansas now and work for your family and make a fortune!' The poor maimed man has returned here with his wife and little ones. We appeal now for help for him and them.

"This is not a solitary instance. We have heard of another, who never came back to tell the story—quite a young man, who, after working hard here for some months, laid by 100 dollars, went back to marry and bring his bride here. The very night after his marriage he was dragged from the house, both hands and arms cut off above the elbows, and he was left to bleed to death.

"Robbed and cheated out of their just wages, swindled out of their houses and lands which they have toiled for and purchased, compelled to fly for their lives, they are fleeing as to a city of refuge to this state by hundreds and by thousands. The most touching appeals are sent here to their friends (who came some months ago) from those still remaining in the South for help to come here. The steamboat captains are bribed by the planters to refuse to bring them. The Southern railway companies charge double fare for them. Every obstacle is thrown in the way of their leaving, as the planters very well know they cannot till their land and cultivate their crops without them. Yet from a sheer love of tyranny they seem determined to oppress and torture them, so that many of them tell us they have been worse off of late than when in slavery."

These few extracts must suffice, but there are many more details of suffering and woe, not a few of the hardships being from the infamous truck system, by which the masters pay their labourers in kind, charging them from three to five times the proper price of the goods. In the inclement winter of the North, great privations will have to be endured by the poor freedmen, though many kind hearts have been opened and willing hands extended to offer aid. A society has been formed called the "Kansas Relief Association," in which many of the best men in Kansas and the Governor of the State take an active part. Contributions in money and clothes are urgently demanded—partly used clothes being particularly

acceptable, as they can enter the country duty free. Money may be forwarded direct to Governor John P. St. John, Topeka, Kansas; or may be paid in to Messrs. Dimsdale, Fowler, Barnard, and Dimsdale, 50, Cornhill, London, to the credit of the Kansas Freedmen's Relief Association.

What will be the end of this terrible stampede? Will the cotton supply of the Southern States again fall off as it did during the war, bringing distress and poverty to many homes in both hemispheres? Rather let us hope that the revulsion of feeling which has so signally set in may continue, and that the party which under General Grant's firm rule succeeded in keeping the dreaded Klu-Klux faction under some degree of control, may again become predominant, and may do away with this crying evil, which is becoming a scandal to the world.

Your powerful assistance in making known the sufferings of these poor people is earnestly requested by, Sir,

Your obedient servant,
CHARLES H. ALLEN, *Secretary.*
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,
27, New Broad Street, London, Nov. 7.

We have further to state, in reference to the above appeal, that Mr. Chalkley, of the Devonshire Temperance Hotel, 12, Bishopsgate Street, London, has kindly consented to receive and forward packages of left-off clothing if sent carriage paid to his address. Contributions in money may also be forwarded to our Office, 27, New Broad Street.

We are glad to see that the *Spectator* endorses our views as to the feeling in the Northern States. The abhorrence of the outrages in the South would appear to be largely affecting votes in favour of the Republican party. We fully endorse most of the sentiments which the *Spectator* expresses in the following remarks:—

"At the same time, however, another influence came strongly to the side of the Republican candidates. It is extremely difficult, amidst the hailstorm of telegrams, rumours, summarised reports of trials, and sensational paragraphs, which comes from the South, to ascertain the true social condition of the old Confederacy, but the belief about it in the North and West is evidently this:—The whites of the South, having mastered the Legislatures, are again push-

ing the State-rights doctrine, until there is danger that the black men and their sympathisers will have no rights left; that they will be driven from the polls by terror, the elective officials refusing to protect them; and that a civilisation based upon slavery, but upon labour-laws framed in the interest of the employer, will grow up in the South. The Northern statesmen believe that the way to prevent this is to 'protect' the dark voters by Federal authority, that is, in fact, by military force; and the Republicans are also of this opinion, which, whether well or ill founded, has had immense influence at the polls. It is impossible in any other way to explain Secretary Sherman's otherwise most injudicious statement that the tone of the South is almost as bad as before the war, or to understand the strong sympathy with the negro emigrants to Kansas, or to account for the extraordinay revival of the enthusiasm for General Grant. The people think there is danger in the South, and so thinking they turn again to the General who defeated the South, and who, whatever his political offences, during his term of office enabled every negro to vote as he would. They do not want him merely as Commander-in-Chief, but as head of the Executive, wielding the whole patronage of the Union, and determined to turn out every United States official, down to the Postmaster, who will not do his duty. It is this impression which has again made General Grant so popular that his progress through the States is one long ovation, and which has almost broken to pieces the calculations of the wire-pullers. They intended to choose between Secretary Sherman and Mr. Blaine, and will now in all probability be reduced to the alternatives of accepting General Grant or running a dark 'horse.' We like neither alternative, believing General Grant to be infinitely too lenient to corrupt politicians, and the 'dark horse' to be deliberate gambling with national prosperity for stakes; but the prospect shows how attentively the North and West are watching the South, and how little they are satisfied with a condition of affairs which, if all is true that is alleged, redounds but little to the credit of Mr. Hayes. However that may be, the desire for hard money and for more vigorous Federal action in the South are certainties, and will probably give the Republicans, if they commit

no great blunder, a heavy majority next year.

"It is very curious that in America, as in England, the revival of Liberal feeling should be so synchronous with the revival of prosperity. Is it, perchance, that men grow timid, and therefore Conservative, in hard times; or is it that the adventurous spirit which makes nations prosperous breaks out simultaneously in many departments of life? Or is it, as it may be, purely a recurrent accident, watched for too short a period to enable us to accept it as a law?"

"In a letter to last Saturday's *Times*, the secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society confirms, and more than confirms, what we said last week as to the causes of the revulsion of feeling against the Democrats in the Northern States of America. The stories brought to Kansas by the unfortunate freedmen who take refuge there from the violent misrule of the South, are beginning to excite the most serious fears in the minds of the Northerners that a new rebellion is on the cards. Even freedmen who have saved money in Kansas, and go South to bring a wife or relations, sometimes return with their arms cut off—cut off expressly to retaliate on them for escaping from the brutalities of Southern justice,—and these outrages are now so frequent and so cruel, that a general opinion is springing up in the North that the pro-slavery spirit of the South is gaining head once more. There could not be a better reason for union and strength amongst the Republicans than the returning vitality of this deadly enemy of all civilisation."—*Spectator*.

DOMESTIC SLAVERY IN EUROPEAN TURKEY.

WE make no apology for inserting *in extenso* the following trenchant article from the *Echo* of November 28th, respecting the domestic slavery which is still carried on in Europe for the pleasure of England's faithful ally—the Grand Turk.

Surely the picture so ably drawn by the writer in the *Nouvelle Revue* ought to be sufficient to disgust even Lord Salisbury and Sir Austen Layard. Perhaps, however, his Excellency, the English Ambassador,

will venture to deny the truth of these assertions, as he formerly denied those of Mr. Joseph Cooper, relative to slavery in the Spanish possessions of the New World!

"If Baker Pasha, the reformer of Asia Minor, really intends to make his renovating activity effectual and permanent, the English Government had better insist that he should be empowered to commence work in the foul centre and focus of Turkish corruption—the domestic household of the Sultan. True, he would be the strangest man in the world for such a task; but how needful Turkish reformation is in this palatial cesspool, and how infinitely hard it must be to bring it about, may be gathered from a remarkable article, signed 'Abdel Hakk,' in the new French magazine which has risen so rapidly to popularity—the *Nouvelle Revue*. First, we learn from this writer that one Turkish reform which is thought to have been already effected—the trade in human beings—has never come into operation at all, but is still in full play, and it is kept alive by the demands of the Court of the Sultan and the palaces of his pashas. The reform which 'abolished' slavery is a prognostic as to what may be expected of any other reforms which the Grand Turk may pretend to institute. Slavery is not abolished, but is still in full bloom in Constantinople and in all parts of the Empire. The Turks, it must be remembered, trade in white as well as black human flesh, and this, too, under the eyes of the European ambassadors, who can do or will do nothing to prevent it. Abdel Hakk says that there is scarcely a single Circassian who is not expending care and money upon the training of a daughter, a sister, or a niece, in the speculative expectation that he may at some future day be able to sell her for a considerable price to the Ruler of the Faithful or to some libidinous Pasha. The greatest ambition in this disgraceful female market is naturally to sell to the Yeldiz-Kiosk, the Palace of the Sultan himself; and almost every new Circassian beauty is offered first of all at this place, where the price is likely to be largest, and where, if she pleases the Sultan's eye, she is certain to be purchased. The higher officials of the Ottoman Empire, the Governors of Provinces, and the Ministers of the Court, are also accustomed to show their reverence and loyalty towards their master by offering him a gift in the shape of a beautiful female slave. They buy girls with

this intention, and the writer asserts that no other present is so acceptable to their master, or so sure of reward. If the beautiful slave pleases the successor of the Prophet, he either bestows her upon some Court favourite as a wife—an honour which is reckoned amongst the very highest of personal distinctions by the servants of the Sultan—or else enrols her in the enormous female battalion of the Imperial Palace.

"The present Sultan, as Abdel Hakk tells us, is almost always surrounded by a swarm of young girls. He seldom goes out, and he grudges the time which he is compelled to spend upon political affairs. It appears that he is only allowed, by the Mohammedan law, to possess, in addition to his wife, 'a quartette of *cadines*, or legal concubines'; but the casuistical doctors of Islam have ingeniously discovered that the foremost member of their religion may be permitted to acquire forty more women for the *service intime*, as Abdel Hakk expresses it, and that he may further add to these an endless number of female slaves for the further *service intérieur*. These additional regiments of concubines are not called by that title; they are employed nominally as dancers, singers, musicians, wardrobe-keepers, coffee-bearers, preparers of the imperial 'narghilés' and 'tschibooks,' and the like. In short, every office which in other Royal palaces is filled by a male, is now almost exclusively bestowed upon a female in the palace of Abdul Hamid. 'These females,' says our informant, 'who are really slaves, actually form the *élite* of the existing Ottoman Empire.' So that Turkey, which has so shamefully degraded woman from her rightful place in the social system of humanity, stands at this moment under 'a monstrous regiment of women'; and these women, too, as Abdel Hakk reminds us, have been one and all purposely educated for degradation, and live only for pleasure in the most horrible sense which can be given to that word."

"Such an infamous condition of things, naturally enough, is not wholly pleasing to those civilised and Christian Westerns who think that the upholding of the Sultan and his Empire is the one pressing necessity of modern politics—the great end for which diplomacy exists, for which militarism is rightly burdening Europe, for which domestic reforms are properly postponed, and for which Christian nations ought contentedly to be

over-taxed. 'The inveterate and ingrained hatred to Russia,' as Abdel Haak puts it, 'has muddled the otherwise clear judgment of such persons as to the condition of Turkey.' They try not to see all the filth and horror. They try to think that the upholding of 'the moral corpse throned in Constantinople,' as the *République Française* has so aptly named the Sultan, is somehow better for the world, at all events for their own class, than any practicable substitute. Having sanctioned, lauded, and apologised for this foul germ of corruption in its centre, and risked everything for the protection of its malarious life, they are obliged to go further, and oppose themselves to everything that is wholesome, moral, humane, civilised, and Christian within the wide range of the Turkish Empire.

"A State—if it is not absurd to call it any longer a State—which is absolutely guided by a Sovereign who is hemmed round by a crowd of *odaliskes* must be incapable of reform. Its highest power, its highest ideal of manhood, the 'first of believers,' is a slave to women, and each woman who lords it over him is a slave bought with money, and a slave without nationality. But for the different ideas of the right place of woman in the world which prevail in Christendom, even when most corrupt, and in Islam, even when most pure, the present Government of the New Rome on the Bosphorus might be legitimately described, like the Government of the old Rome on the Tiber, under the Popes of the first half of the tenth century—a Porocracy. 'The Government of the Sultan,' as the French journal we have already cited so tersely puts it, 'is in reality the Government of five hundred women.' If the person of the Sultan is to be respected as a sort of sacred old idol, and he is to be allowed to keep his army of females as a barrier betwixt himself and the serious duties of political life, some means ought to be devised for the definitive limitation of his mischievous and wilful authority, and for the withdrawal of legislation and administration from its present dependence upon his fitful humour. Whatever reforms a Sultan may set his seal to—and no Sovereigns have set their seal to more—can be withdrawn, neutralised, or loopholed in an instant by the same authority, after the manner in which the abolition of slavery throughout the Turkish dominion has been loopholed."

Is it not an anomaly in this present nine-

teenth century that such a state of things should be allowed to exist at any Court on the Continent of Europe? and can we wonder at the righteous indignation which impelled our greatest living statesman to declaim against such a moral excrescence, in the strong and burning words which have received the name of "the bag and baggage policy"?

We make no question but that Mr. Gladstone was perfectly right, and, in spite of all attempts on the part of our Government (owing to a nervous and needless dread of Russia) to uphold the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the days are fast approaching when the last ruling Pasha will have to follow the Grand Turk to the other side of the Bosphorus.

The presence of the Moslem as a governing power in Europe is an inconsistency that must shortly cease, and we hope to see the time when the whole country of Turkey-in-Europe, including its much-coveted capital, Constantinople, will be in the hands and under the dominion of a free Christian people, the descendants of those who were driven out and enthralled by the Saracen invasion some four centuries ago.

Amongst the free people of Turkey not the least worthy would appear to be those of the little independent State of Montenegro—a people whose proud boast it is never to have been subjected to Turkish rule. For centuries they have stood firm amidst the surging waves of Moslem oppression—like an immovable rock in the midst of a wild and angry sea.

THE PROJECTED RAILWAY FROM ALGERIA TO SENEGAL.

(To the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.)

DEAR SIR,—It may be interesting to some of your readers to have a few particulars of the proposed railway from Algeria to Senegal. Since I first advocated the idea of opening direct communication with Soudan from Cape Juby other nations interested in opening up markets for trade have given the subject considerable attention, and two schemes have been proposed. The Germans proposed to make a railway from Tripoli to Lake Tchad, in Central Soudan. An expedition was dispatched a short time ago, under the leadership of Gerhard Rohlfs, to explore the route, but they were plun-

dered by the natives, and the expedition returned without accomplishing its object. The distance from Tripoli to Lake Tchad is about 1,200 miles; the country is mountainous, and inhabited by fierce tribes who might be found to be very troublesome; the climate is considered good.

M. Daponchel proposed to make a railway from Algeria to Senegal, which is estimated to cost £20,000,000. The French Government have taken up the matter seriously, and a committee has been appointed to consider the plans and take steps to carry it out, and the Minister of Public Works lately addressed a letter to the President of the French Republic on the subject, in which he points out that Soudan appears to be the most important portion of the African Continent, and that the population has been estimated at 100,000,000. The yearly value of the trade between the Mediterranean ports and Soudan is estimated at 52,000,000 francs. The Government have made a grant of £30,000 sterling towards the preliminary survey expenses, and an expedition will be sent there without delay to examine the route. The proposal is to make two railways—one from Algeria to Timbuctoo on the Upper Niger, and another from Senegal to Sego, a city situated on the same river, thus establishing direct communication between the two French colonies and the whole of Soudan. If the proposed scheme could be carried out it would effectually open up Central Africa, but the difficulties that will be encountered are so great that I have little hope of its success. The distance from Algeria to Timbuctoo has been estimated at about 1,300 miles in a straight line: the route of a railway would be much longer. Two mountain ranges have to be crossed, the Atlas and the Hogar, and the tribes dwelling in the Sahara are said to be hostile to the French. The Kong mountains have to be passed in making a railway from Senegal to Sego, and the climate is considered very unhealthy. Not one of the routes proposed is so direct as that from Cape Juby; the distance from this point to Timbuctoo is only 800 miles, and there are no mountain ranges to be crossed on the route.

Yours very truly,

DONALD MACKENZIE.

London, November 28th, 1879.

We copy from the *African Times* the translation of a letter addressed by the Minister of Public Works to the President of the French Republic, who has issued a decree for the appointment of the Commission recommended :—

" Monsieur le President,—During late years the discoveries of various travellers have shown that Central Africa is very different from what people imagined. Formerly we believed that there were only huge deserts and barren land, while now, on the contrary, it has been proved that large tribes of human beings exist there, who are more or less in a state of semi-civilisation. Important towns, with many inhabitants, are built upon the shores of the lakes and banks of the rivers. The Sahara itself is not at all what has been described in unfinished and superficial observations. The movable sands, too, which were considered an impassable barrier, extending far and wide, are in reality only local; and generally the soil has a consistency and firmness which does not differ much from the soil of Europe. Soudan appears to be the most important part of this huge continent. Some travellers reckon the population at over one hundred millions. There is a large river, the Niger, which spreads over half its extent. The inhabitants are industrious, and the elements of an international commerce seem to be in existence there to a very high degree. Again, in surmounting difficulties, more or less considerable, this country can be approached from two sides, by Algeria and by Senegal. This problem has for the last twenty years filled the minds of many, and the time seems come to solve it practically. Two years since M. Daponchel, one of our principal civil engineers, obtained permission from the Government to go to Algeria to collect all possible information about the nature of Soudan, as well as of Sahara. He was assisted by the wonderful narratives which had been published by several travellers, especially those of M. Daveyrier, by the accounts of chiefs of caravans, and by information he received from distinguished officers, who had frequently made expedition in the South of Algeria; also by undertaking himself an exploration on the borders of the Great Desert. M. Daponchel has been able to publish a very interesting memoir, which shows the possibility of

uniting ourselves to the Niger by an unbroken line of railroad of 1,250 miles. However bold such an idea appears, we must not treat it as an absurdity when we come to think of the wonderful results of man's genius—above all, of that grand railroad which joins San Francisco to New York, across obstacles of all kinds, over a space of nearly 3,750 miles. A railroad from Algeria to the Niger, if it be possible, will certainly cost less than cutting the Isthmus of Panama, in the way it was decided at the International Congress held lately at Paris Struck by M. Daponchel's report I felt we ought no longer to remain inactive. I have formed a provisional committee, consisting of several distinguished members of my department, and I have consulted with them on the value of these ideas of M. Daponchel. After long deliberation this committee drew up the following statement on the 12th of June :—

" '1st. The committee consider that there exists in Soudan a large population, a fertile soil, and natural riches which are uncultivated. It is very important to open outlets for commerce through the French possessions, which are the most favourably situated for this purpose. France ought to follow the example of England, and do her best to induce the caravans to cross French territory instead of only coming to its borders. 2nd. The opening of a railroad joining our possessions in Algeria with Soudan is necessary to obtain this double result. 3rd. It is also necessary to join Senegal with the Niger. 4th. The exploration or surveys of the undertaking ought to be directed simultaneously from Senegal and from Algeria, and the plans ought to include both directions. 5th. South of Algeria, the uncertainty which exists regarding the topography, the climate, the resources, and the inhabitants of certain parts of the Sahara, makes it necessary to proceed with care in order to avoid mistakes and military complications. 6th. It will be advantageous to start immediately with a preliminary line between Biskra and Ouargla of about 200 miles. This line can be joined by the Hodua to the line from Algiers to Constantine. As far as Ouargla ordinary escorts appear sufficient to protect all operations. 7th. A credit of £800 will be demanded to meet the expenses of the surveys and the needs of the explorers.'"

"After this full statement, if I had any hesitation it would all have vanished before the general opinion which was simultaneously manifested in the two Chambers in favour of this same question. In the 'Chambre des Députés' the Budget Committee having to decide the amendment of M. Paul Bert, expressed themselves in these terms, through their secretary, M. Bouvier :

"Your Commission, gentlemen, is very sympathetic with the object of the amendment. Africa is attracting the attention of the civilised world more and more. France, situated nearer this Continent than most other nations—more directly interested in its future by her possessions in Algeria, in Senegal, in Gaboon, and by her numerous factories established on the West Coast—France cannot but take her part in this movement, which is drawing Europe towards those regions in Africa, the wealth of which we are just beginning to see. Do not the greatness and the interests of our country command us to place ourselves at the head of this movement ?"

"In the Senate, the Commission on the railways of Algeria has not been less explicit. Their reports concluded thus, on the subject of an amendment of M. Caillaux :—

"The majority of the committee, for these motives, has not thought it necessary to adopt the amendment of M. Caillaux. The committee, however, unanimously agree to the surveys which are necessary for the execution of the railroad across the Sahara; they are certainly convinced that it is greatly to the interests and to the advantage of our country for us to solve this problem of the basin of the Niger, and be in advance regarding the civilisation of these countries which our colony of Algeria opens to us."

"The committee had even fancied that they ought to settle in general terms a line from Algeria to Soudan. If they have given up this, it is in consequence of the engagements made in the tribune on July 5, by the Minister of Public Works, that we should commence with more reliable surveys. Under these conditions the Government ought to enter resolutely, but still with prudence, on the path which is marked out. Consequently I have the honour of proposing to you, M. le President, to name a general commission, in which

different and special interests should be represented, and to which should be appointed members of Parliament. This commission would have in its power the definite plan of the surveys to be undertaken. They would extend the programme indicated by the preparatory commission. They would draw up instructions for exploring expeditions. They would decide how these expeditions are to be undertaken in order to be sufficiently extensive without compromising France or endangering life. They would gather together all the results obtained, and they would draw up such reports as will enable us to come to a conclusion upon the possibility of uniting Algeria and Senegal to Soudan by a railroad. Whatever be the issue of such an enterprise, it will always be an honour to France to have tried it, and she will have something beneficial to bequeath to the future. If you accept this view, M. le President, I beg you to give your approbation to the present report as well as to the decree which accompanies it.—I have the honour to be, M. le President, &c., &c.,

"C. DE FREYCINET."

THE SOURCES OF THE NIGER.

A GREAT geographical discovery is reported to have been made by two Frenchmen. A telegram from Sierra Leone states that MM. Zweifel and Moustier, representatives of the firm of M. Verminck, of Marseilles, succeeded during September in discovering the sources of the Niger. This great river, which waters the Western Soudan, has hitherto hidden its cradle in the northern spurs of the Kong Mountains, a chain parallel with the Gulf of Guinea and one of the bulwarks of Central Africa. Many explorers had tried to penetrate into these unknown parts, but failed. The French traveller Caillie, following the Kong Mountains northward, was obliged to content himself with indicating the course of the Upper Niger and its tributaries. Messrs. Laing and Winwood Reade tried in vain to explore the region of the sources of the Diolibah; the mistrust and hostility of the natives forced them to abandon the solution of the problem. A French merchant, possessing several stores on the Western Coast of

Africa, resolved to attempt the difficult task. M. Verminck chose two of his *employés* hardened to the climate and accustomed to treating with the natives; he sent them mathematical instruments, books, maps, and money, and told them to explore the Niger, both from a scientific and commercial point of view. MM. Zweifel and Moustier forthwith left Sierra Leone, followed the course of the Rohelle, and attained the foot of the Kong Mountains. It was here that the greatest difficulty had to be encountered; but they fortunately succeeded in overcoming it. The warlike tribes who had hitherto refused to allow the white man to go farther, this time let the two Frenchmen pass the chain and explore the three sources which, uniting at a short distance, form the great river of the Western Soudan.

time not over-friendly. In May a rumour reached the King that the Egyptians were advancing their posts further towards his country, and he appears to have accused the missionaries of complicity in the matter. While utterly denying the charge, they offered to send two of their number with his messengers to Colonel Gordon; and, accordingly, Mr. Felkin started for Egypt in advance, on May 17th, to prepare the way for the party who were to follow in company with the Rev. C. T. Wilson. Messrs. Stokes and Copplestone had been permitted by Mtesa to go to the south side of the lake, on condition that they sent up the mission stores left there. The position of the three missionaries left at Mtesa's Court is certainly not an enviable one."

We can only hope that there is some exaggeration in this unfavourable report respecting the conduct of King Mtesa.

SLAVE-TRADE IN CENTRAL AFRICA.

"WE regret to hear that the slave-trade is very rife still on the shores of Lake Nyassa, as well as on the River Shiré, in Central Africa. The missionaries at Livingstonia and Blantyre, together with the members of the Livingstonia Trading Company, have been sufficiently long in the land for the native chiefs who organise the traffic to form the opinion that no active interference with their doings will result from this quarter; so that we cannot altogether wonder that the slavers are gathering courage. Exasperating as it must be for our countrymen to see the trade reviving, their duty appears to be to keep vigilant watch and to report continuously what they witness; but we must not forget to add that they do see it clearly to be their duty at times to receive and give shelter to those who escape from the slave-gangs, and claim sanctuary of the English."

The above, from a well-informed correspondent, would appear to be confirmed by the following extract, taken from the *Rock* of November 14th, relating to another district:—

"The Church Missionary Society has received discouraging news of the condition of affairs at the Nyanza Mission. Hostile influences are believed to have been at work, and the attitude of King Mtesa has been for some

TRAINED ELEPHANTS IN AFRICA.

"WE regret to hear that the laudable efforts of the King of the Belgians to establish in Africa the Indian system of employing elephants for purposes of trade and locomotion have received a severe blow in the death of one of the four Indian elephants sent by his Majesty into the interior of Africa, near Lake Nyassa. At the same time it is satisfactory to find that a good impression has been created on the minds of the natives by the appearance of the docile monsters passing quietly from village to village completely under the control of their mahouts. There is little doubt, however, that many localities in British South Africa afford much greater facilities for the establishment of a training station than the centre of the continent; and we are sorry to see that such an opportunity of starting an undertaking of this kind with a couple of tame African elephants as occurred during the past week has been allowed to pass by neglected. The four elephants lately exhibited at the Alexandra Palace—two of them Indian, and two African—were sold on Tuesday last for an average of a little over £100 a-piece. The docility of all these animals is a patent proof that the African elephant is equally tractable with his Indian relative, and a great step would be gained if operations in connection with the domestication of the wild African

elephants could be commenced with two natives already tamed.

"We are in correspondence with the purchaser of the tame elephants in question, and shall be happy to receive communications from anyone interested in the subject, with a view to taking the matter up in a practical manner, and to the ultimate establishment in Cape Colony or Natal of a properly organised 'keddah.' The South African Governments have warmly approved our original suggestion to utilise the African elephant in the development of the resources and commerce of the country."—*The Colonies and India.*

We should be very glad to learn that the suggestion to purchase the tame African elephants now in England could be carried out. We have long maintained that the proper way to open up communications with the far interior of Africa is by means of trained elephants. The difficulties of all travellers have been mainly caused by the necessity of taking with them large bands of *pagazis*, or luggage porters. These men often turn obstinate, or they fall sick, and in various ways they obstruct the course of the explorer or missionary. With trained elephants it would be possible to do without the greater part of the troublesome army of porters, nor would there be any dispute with the sagacious elephant as to the amount of his wages or whether he should go by this or that route.

We would call attention to an excellent article in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Marseille*, for June and July last entitled "Utilisation des Elephants in Afrique," by M. A. Raband, President of the Society. Want of space prevents our doing more than just stating that M. Raband considers there is no difficulty in catching and training the African elephant. He thinks there is little to be gained by breeding elephants for the work, "for, owing to its slow growth, this animal (which lives to the age of 100 or 120 years) could not be set to work until it was fifteen or eighteen years old."

M. Raband says,—"One circumstance which should facilitate and hasten the realisation of the scheme for utilising elephants in Africa is the possibility and even the advantage of training animals that are born wild and captured as adults. It is not necessary to subject the elephant entirely to man in order to do-

mesticate the species and to make obedience enter into his nature by heredity. The elephant is prepared by his nature and his temper for the society of man. Taken captive as an adult, he quickly allows himself to be tamed, and becomes the faithful slave of man: his intelligence is remarkable, his docility is most extraordinary. Notwithstanding his vast bulk and his prodigious strength, the elephant is one of the most inoffensive beings in nature, and, when treated with kindness and care, he becomes the most valuable auxiliary to man. The docility of the elephant is more like that of the dog than that of the horse, and his obedience to his keeper appears to be more the result of affection than of fear."

We hope to hear that the experiment inaugurated by the generosity of the King of the Belgians will be found so successful that it may soon be largely followed by the capture and training of *African* elephants after the manner so long carried out in India.

SINGULAR CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY.

The St. Vincent Witness publishes the following account of a gentleman *en route* for San Francisco, on important business, being arrested by telegram, lodged in the common gaol, and treated as a felon, because the blundering officials in Barbados mistook him for a fraudulent bankrupt of the same name.

The extraordinary part of the story is the obstinate refusal of the authorities to listen to reason. Mr. George Smith, of St. Vincent, who has just arrived in this country, tells us that Mr. Forde, the gentleman arrested, had a mal-formation on his hand of a very peculiar nature; that he pointed this out to the Governor, and entreated him to telegraph to England to inquire whether this agreed with the description given of the bankrupt. His Excellency treated the fact of his having two thumbs on one hand as a mere joke, and sternly refused to send any telegram. The consequence was that Mr. Forde had to lie in prison until his "order of release" arrived by telegram, the authorities in England being more open to reason than those in Barbados.

We hope this gentleman will obtain sub-

stantial damages for his very unpleasant and unjustifiable incarceration.

"The important question of arrest by telegram has been brought prominently into notice at Barbados. Mr. Thomas Forde was arrested on board the Royal Mail Steamer *Para*, on a charge of being a fraudulent bankrupt. He was brought up before Mr. Stokes, the magistrate, who remanded Mr. Forde for a week, after Mr. Hull had just put in the telegram received by the Governor. How could his detention be reconciled with the law? The proofs of his guilt were to follow in the next steamer. Mr. Forde protested his innocence, and denied that he could be the party wanted. His wife seems to have accompanied him on the voyage to Barbados. Their friends in England seem to have interested themselves on his behalf, and he was released by order of the Governor on a telegram from the Secretary of State, stating that Mr. Forde was not the party wanted! Mr. Forde probably will look for redress for the insults and injury he has received."

CHINESE IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

In reprinting the following statement as to the probable emigration of Chinese into Western Australia, we must repeat the opinion we have always maintained on this subject, viz.: that it is not within the province of a Government to interfere directly with the rate of wages and conditions of labour in a colony, although it may very properly offer inducements, in the shape of free or assisted passages, to intending immigrants. At the same time we object to the imposition of restrictive laws in the shape of a poll-tax, such as is now levied on the Chinese in Queensland and some other of the Australian Colonies. Free-trade in labour, as in all other things, will in the end be found to be the best policy in Australia as it is in England.

"An experiment is being tried in Western Australia, in direct opposition to the feelings of the other Australian Colonies, in the introduction, under Government patronage, of a number of Chinese coolies from Singapore. On the arrival at Perth of the first batch of fifty, a notification was published by the Colonial Secretary that they would be hired out to employers at a fixed rate of wages, for times of service of

not less than twelve months, and that their employment would be under the direct supervision of the Colonial authorities. Almost simultaneously with this announcement a notice appeared in the Government *Gazette* to the effect that the allowance of a portion of their passage-money lately granted to labourers coming to Western Australia from the adjoining Colonies would be withdrawn. Whether there is any intentional connection between the two orders, it is evident that the effect will be to give an artificial stimulus to the employment of Chinese labour, and to place a practical restriction on the immigration of white labourers at the very time when, with new roads and railways in progress, or in point of being executed, that Colony will be more than ever in want of steady and experienced hands. The anti-Chinese fever in the east is following a China mania in the west of the southern continent; and while the former has been fostered to an unreasonable extent, the latter is open to weighty objections. Western Australia is entitled to take any legitimate steps to supply her own demand for labour; but there is no reason, climatic or otherwise, why she should favour Chinese immigrants to the detriment of Europeans. The reason that coolie labour is cheaper than white labour, and so acceptable to many employers, is not likely to remain good long when John Chinaman begins to see that his labour, if satisfactory, can command a higher price than that for which he now bargains."—*The Colonies and India*.

ST. JOHN DEL REY GOLD MINING COMPANY.

By the *Rio News* of Nov. 5th, we are glad to learn that the Catta Branca blacks, who have so long been illegally held in slavery by an English Mining Company! have now not only been declared to be free, but their freedom dates back from the year 1860, and the Company is ordered to pay all back wages, which hitherto, instead of being given to their workpeople, have been distributed as dividends amongst English shareholders!

As further legal action is probable in this matter, we withhold further comment.

"By a sentence pronounced on the 14th ultimo by the *juiz de direito* of the Rio das

Velhas district, Minas Geraes, the Catta Branca blacks, so long held in illegal slavery by the S. Joao d'El-Rey Mining Company, at Morro Velho, are declared free since 1860 and entitled to wages. This sentence is a timely recognition of the rights of these poor men, and the judge by whose decision they are now made free deserves hearty praise for the promptness with which he has responded to the protests uttered in the Chamber of Deputies and in our columns. We felt that these people had been most unjustly and wrongly treated, and that this treatment still continued; we therefore gladly seconded the humane effort of Sr. Joaquim Nabuco, in the Chamber of Deputies, to secure their freedom. We are glad to announce that these efforts have been crowned with success."

SLAVERY IN A BRITISH COLONY.

WE are again indebted to the spirited managers of the *Echo* newspaper for making public a scandal that appears to have long existed in the British colony of Hong Kong. To Englishmen at home it seems almost impossible that such a state of things could exist in a British possession; but we fear this is not the only instance where distance from home, and a removal of some of the wholesome restraints imposed by public opinion, are taken advantage of by some of our fellow-countrymen to indulge in a license which they would never dream of in their own land.

"Sir John Smale, Chief Justice of Hong Kong, has lately made a discovery, and a rather remarkable one to be made in a British colony. He has found that there exists within the narrow limits of the island—a 'dot in the ocean,' some thirty miles in circumference—no fewer than ten thousand slaves. The news will come with something like surprise upon Englishmen at home, who have long believed it impossible that such a state of things could exist under the British flag. For many years past cases of kidnapping have occasionally appeared in the courts of the colony, but the little public interest these cases have occasioned is explained away on the ground that the offences have been committed on the adjoining mainland, and that the offenders brought themselves within the reach of the law by using Hong Kong as a harbour of export. This excuse has at least the merit of ingenuity; and if the Hong Kong dignitaries have hitherto been blind to the real state of matters, they have now had their eyes opened. The natives in Hong Kong, since they became British subjects, now nearly forty years ago, have, it appears, been buying and selling girls, not only for domestic service but for vastly less worthy purposes. These wretched creatures may not be often treated with open brutality, but they receive nothing in the way

of recompense beyond what is necessary to keep body and soul together, and when their employers and masters get tired of them they have been sold again to the highest bidder. That such a system should find its defenders among the foreign residents of the colony is not at all surprising. The moral tone of Hong Kong society has never been of a very high order; and if in certain quarters it has been attempted to treat the matter lightly now that public attention has been called to it, it is only what might have been expected. It is alleged, in the case of domestics at least, that the servitude is mild; that what we call slavery is a 'social custom' of the Chinese; that we are by treaty bound to respect these 'social customs,' and so on. Such statements, which have been backed up by a petition to Governor Hennessy from the wealthy Chinese in the Colony, will not stand the test for a moment. Slavery, even in this form, is not a 'social custom' of the Chinese. It is directly antagonistic to the Penal Code of China. And what shall we say of the slavery in Hong Kong in its other and most detestable form? That it should have been tolerated for such a length of time in an isolated community is, to say the least, rather extraordinary. Sir John Smale may have been ignorant of it; but it is hardly conceivable that all these years the system should have been unknown to the English authorities generally. The fact is, they have known of it, and have simply ignored it. The Government of the island—composed, be it observed, entirely of Englishmen—raises a large portion of its revenue from licensed brothels, and it would have been little short of insubordination for a 'Registrar-General and Protector of Chinese' to have brought under the notice of his superiors this dark blot in the social life of the community. Some half-a-dozen native churches, occupied by as many missionaries, represent the sum total of English efforts to Christianise a hundred and fifty thousand Chinese; while the British Government gives facility for the encouragement of immorality, and brothels under official inspection can be counted by scores. Sir John Smale may manifest a righteous indignation on the question of slavery if he chooses, and every effort he may make to stamp it out deserves encouragement. But in denouncing the Chinese he should remember that the Government of which he is an able and honoured member not only allows, but fosters, institutions for the purposes of which hundreds of 'slaves' are annually sold. And if we add that, as far as 'buying' females is concerned, there are not a few of Sir John Smale's own countrymen whose hands are not altogether clean, we should not be so far wide of the truth as some people might imagine. The whole question has, it is said, been referred to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and, if so, there can, we imagine, be little doubt as to what his decision will be. No half measures will do. The root of the matter must be struck at, and the wicked and disgraceful system abolished at once and for ever."—*Echo*, Nov. 5, 1879.

TREASURER.

WE have to announce that, owing to failing health and distance from town, our Treasurer, Mr. William Allen, has been compelled to resign the office he has so long and ably filled.

The Committee, whilst reluctantly accepting the resignation of their valued friend and fellow-labourer, are glad to think that he will still continue to act as one of their general body. They now have the pleasure to announce that Mr. JOSEPH ALLEN, of the firm of Harwood, Knight & Allen, 18, Cornhill, London, and of Shepherd's Green, Chislehurst, has kindly consented to act in his stead, as Treasurer of this Society.

NOTICE TO THE PUBLIC.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

AFTER the 1st January, 1880, the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER will publish with each issue a limited number of select ADVERTISEMENTS. Preference will be given to those of a literary and philanthropic character.

All notices for advertising space to be addressed to the Editor, from whom a scale of charges may be obtained.

OBITUARY.

WE regret to have to announce the death, in the United States, of an early and well-known Abolitionist, Mrs. Grimke Weld, at an advanced age.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS RECEIVED SINCE OUR LAST ISSUE.

Cheques and Money Orders to be made payable to the Treasurer, JOSEPH ALLEN, Esq.

Apperly, Rev. J., New Zealand (sub.)	£2	0	0
Capern, H., Liverpool	...	0	5
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Hewett, Rev. E., Jamaica	...	5	0
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Sturge, George, Sydenham	"	50	0
Sturge, Charles, Bewdley	(sub.)	2	2
Thompson, S., York	..."	0	10

We are still hoping to receive further donations towards the fund for a present to King Menelek.

SUGGESTED FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE SOCIETY.

"I give to the TREASURER for the time being, or to the person for the time being acting as such, of THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, and whose receipt I direct shall be a sufficient discharge for the same, the sum of £ sterling [free of Legacy Duty], to be applied for the general purposes of the said Society, to be fully paid out of such part of my personal estate as is legally applicable to such purpose."

Subscribers for the "REPORTER" should kindly send Post-Office Orders to CHARLES H. ALLEN, payable at the General Post-Office, E.C.

DONATIONS and SUBSCRIPTIONS for the ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be received by the Treasurer, JOSEPH ALLEN, by the Hon. Secretaries, and by the Secretary,

CHARLES H. ALLEN,
27, New Broad Street, E.C.

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